MILTON A GENIUS; A STUDY OF MILTON WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN HIS GENIUS AND STYLE (I)

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Preface

This thesis is my enlarged old one presented to Tokyo University of Education, which changed its name and site into Tsukuba, as a partial fulfillment of bachelor of arts, 1967. In the course of my continued study of Milton's art, I found it unavoidable to quote from it in my present study of Milton: A Theoretical Study of Milton's Art, the two volumes of which have already been published by Kazamashobo Publishing Company, Tokyo in 1977 and 1978. This means the thesis must be printed in public.

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INTRODUCTION

The works of Shakespeare in which the author's selfhood is said to be annihilated speak to a reader; whereas, those of Milton in which the author's strong selfhood is included necessitate us to make our selfhood sympathize with that of the author in order to appreciate them really; namely, we are required to have the same spiritual height as that of Milton. It is because the works of Milton have a strong insistence on his ego as a poetic background.

The poetic strength generated by his selfhood is embodied mainly in Satan and gives the energy to the words of Satan. William Blake's reading of *Paradise Lost* teaches us a depth of poetry:

> . . . when Satan had fallen, God the Father had fallen also. Deprived of Satan's energy, Heaven had become void of abstract reasonings.[1]

The resource of "energy" to which Blake referred can be found in Milton's emotionality, selfhood, or ego. The emotionallity or selfhood is wholly included in his Muse.

It was noticed in the course of reading the poem that the essence of the poem lies in the "Heav'nly Muse" which proved to be the Holy Spirit. Milton writes:

> . . . a work . . . to be obtained by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterances and knowledge. . . .[2]

But further reading of *Paradise Lost* has taught me that the "heav'nly Muse" in Book III, 19. is a Muse different from the Miltonic Muse, the eternal being (which is the conclusion of Chapter I). By tracing the identity of the "heav'nly Muse" (which shall be dealt with in Chapters, II, III, IV), I came upon an idea of Miltonic type of genius (which is the main point of Chapter IV). Milton, whose poetically creative will is seen to be ruled by his emotionality, turned out to be a "catathymic"* type of a genius (which is the conclusion of Chapter V). The evidence that Milton was a "catathymic" type of a genius is found in his characteristic style which is caused by his emotionality or selfhood (which shall be dealt with in Chapter VI). By examining his style, a new idea of annulment of a word occurred to my mind. And this idea of annulment of a word may have something to do with "dissociation of sensibility" in terms of T.S. Eliot.

*On the definition of "catathymic" (=a German, "katathymer") see Chapter V in the second series to be published soon.

PART ONE
KINDS OF MILTONIC MUSES

A certain intensity of the poem is supported by the Muse. She purifies the poem and keeps the poet from deviating from a certain standard of the height. Without the

Muse, his poem should have been a false one. Milton seems to be always mindful of reality and nonentity of the descriptions of the verses:

> Spot more delicious then those Gardens feignd
> Or of reviv'd *Adonis,* or renownd
> *Alcinous,* host of old Laertes Son,
> Or that, not Mystic, . . . (IX, 439–442)

The former is false, and the latter is real. This dualism of reality and nonentity can be applied to the Muse:

> For thou art Heav'nlie, and shee an empty dreame. (VII, 39)

"thou" is referred to Urania, and "shee" to the pagan Muse. He denies the poetry that is not grounded on the Holy Spirit. He was to write:

> A work not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapours of some vulgar amourist, or the trencher fury of a rhyming parasit; nor be obtained by the invocation of Dame Memory and her siren daughters, but devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, . . .[3]

The invocations of the poet to the Muse are seen in Book I, 1–33, 376; Book III, 1–55; Book VII, 1–50, and the descriptions of the effects of his invocations to the Muse are seen in Book IX, 20–24, 47. The total lines spent whereon number one hundred and fourty-six. The importance of the role of the Muse in *Paradise Lost* is not to be ignored, though she has nothing to do with the argument of the poem.[4]

CHAPTER I
THE KINDS OF THE MUSES

The eternal Spirit is said to be only one in the universe. If Milton's Muse is the eternal Spirit, no other Muse than the eternal Spirit should be admitted. (Here, by the eternal Spirit is meant the Holy Spirit in the Bible.)

I shall trace the Muse in the context.

> Sing Heav'nly Muse, that on the secret top
> Of *Oreb,* or of *Sinai,* didst inspire
> The Shepherd, who first taught the chosen Seeds,
> In the Beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth
> Rose out of *Chaos*: (I, 17–20)

The Biblical source of these lines cannot be found in the Old Testament.[5] The "Shepherd" is Moses. The Biblical background of these lines is found in Exodos xix: 1–25. And we know that the "Heav'nly Muse" is the Lord God, whose name is I AM WHO I AM; I WILL BE WHAT I WILL BE (see Exodus iii: 14). It says: ". . . the Lord descended upon it in fire; and the smoke of a kiln, and the whole mountain quaked greatly, And as the sound of the trumpet grew louder and louder, Moses spoke, and God answered

in thunder" (see Exodus xix: 18–19). This Biblical source is thought to have been versified into thus: ". . . Heav'nly Muse, that on the secret top/ Of *Oreb*, or of *Sinai* didst inspire/ That Shepherd, . . ." According to the modern study of the Old Testament, God that appeared in Mount Sinai was the historical first revelation of the universal God.[6] Milton thought that this universal God was the "Heav'nly Muse."

> And chiefly Thou O Spirit, that dost preferr
> Before all Temples th' upright heart and pure,
> Instruct me, for Thou know'st; Thou from the first,
> Was present, . . . (I, 17–20)

"Spirit" was not created but from the first she was present. "Spirit" is thought to be God, for "in the beginning was God" (see John i: 1–2).[7] "Spirit" and "Heav'nly Muse" are the same being. They are the fearful Spirit of God.

> Hail holy Light, ofspring of Heav'n first-born,
> Or of th' Eternal Coeternal beam
> May I express thee unblam'd? Since God is Light,
> And never but in unapproached Light
> Dwelt from Eternitie, dwelt in thee,
> Bright effluence of bright essence increate.
> Or hear'st thou rather pure Ethereal stream,
> Whose Fountain who shall tell? before the Sun,
> Before the Heav'ns thou wert, and at the voice
> Of God, as with a Mantle didst invest
> The rising world of waters dark and deep,
> Won from the void and formless infinite. (III, 1–12)

We can assort those into two groups: the created and the uncreated, which are, "holy Light," "Heav'n," "Eternal Coeternal beam," "God," "thee," "Light," "Bright effluence." The former group includes "holy Light," "thou," and "Bright effluence." The latter group includes "Heav'n," "Eternal Coeternal beam," "God," "Light" and "essence." The "holy Light" is "Bright effluence" of "bright essence increate"; that is to say, the "holy Light" is the actualization of the potentiality of "Light." This idea of vicegerent relationship is the same as that between the Father and his Son. Milton writes:

> . . . he full
> Resplendent all his Father manifest
> Expressed . . . (X, 65–67)

If God the Father is compared to "Light," the Son should be compared to the "holy Light." Since the poet views that "Light" is God (1. 3),[8] "holy Light" is thought to be the Son according to the viceregent theory. As might be seen through the whole story, the Father and the Son is active and dramatic. On the other hand, "Light" and "holy Light" is passive and static.[9] Hence it follows that the "holy Light" (1. 1) or "Celestial

Light" (1. 51) is the static grasp of the Muse. This grasp of the Muse affects the whole story of Book III. The "Heav'nly Muse" in the hellish, dark, agonizing scene of Book I is the stern and severe God like fearful Jehovah,[10] but the "Light" in Book III is mild and all embracing.[11]

> Descend from Heav'n *Uraia*, by that name
> If rightly thou art calld, whose Voice divine
> Following, above th' Olympian Hill I soar,
> Above the flight of *Pegasean* wing.
> The meaning, not the Name I call: for thou
> Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top
> Of old Olympus dwellst, but Heav'nlie borne,
> Before the Hills appeerd, or Fountain flows,
> Thou with Eternal wisdom didst converse,
> Wisdom thy Sister, and with her didst play
> In presence of th' Almightie Father, pleas'd
> With thy Celestial Song. Up led by thee
> Into the Heav'n of Heav'ns I have presum'd,
> An Earthlie Gust, and drawn Empyreal Air,
> Thy tampring; with safetie guided down
> Return me to my Native Element:
> Least from this flying Steed unreind, (as once
> Bellerophon, though from a lower Clime)
> Dismounted, on th' Aleian Field I fall,
> Erroneous there to wander and forlorne.
> Half yet remaines unsung, but narrower bound
> Within the visible Diurnal Sphear;
> Standing on Earth, not rapt above the Pole,
> More safe I Sing with dangers compast round,
> And solitude; yet not alone, while thou
> Visitst my slumbers Nightly, or when Morn
> Purples the East: Still govern thou my Song,
> *Urania*, and fit audience find, though few:
> But drive farr off the barbarous dissonance
> Of Bacchus and his Revellers, the Race
> Of that wilde Rout that tore the Thracian Bard
> In Rhodope, where Woods and Rocks had Eares
> To rapture, till the savage clamor dround
> Both Harp and Voice; nor could the Muse defend
> Her Son. So fail not thou, who implores:
> For thou art Heav'nlie, shee an empty dreame. (VII, 1–39)

"Urania" was born in the Heaven before the Creation of the earth. She talked, played, and sang with "wisdom" in the presence of the Almightie and pleased him. She nightly visits him slumbering, or at dawn. The poet wishes her to keep watch over his poem with the help of her power of expelling the paganish elements in his poem. We notice some distance between "Urania" and God, and this fact shows a new character of "Urania":

> Thou with Eternal wisdom didst converse,

Wisdom thy Sister, and with her play
In the presence of th' Almightie Father, pleased
With thy Celestial song (11. 9–12)

"In the presence of th' Almightie Father" clearly shows the physical separation between them. "Urania" conversed and played with "wisdom,"[12] not with the "Almightie Father." This fact implies the spiritual separation between them; the idea of vicegerent relationship between them is not seen. The Muse which Milton calls "Urania" is emphasized on her reality. This idea is thought of by his style:

The meaning, not the name . . .
Nor of the Muses, Nor on the top
Of old Olympus dwellst, but Heav'nlie borne, (11. 5–7)

. . . thou art Heav'nlie, shee an empty dreame. (1. 38)

The style of the negative and the affirmative has the more emphatic effect than that of the affirmative only. In this case, the affirmative is on "Heav'nlie," and the negative is on "empty." We can see the other emphasis:

If answerable stile I can obtain
Of my Celestial Patroness, who deignes
Her nightly visitation unimplor'd,
And dictate to me slumbring, or inspires
Easie my unpremeditated Verse: (IX, 20–24)

This is the same description as that of Book VII, 28–30, and is thought to have come from his experience that shall be dealt with later. Milton writes about his religious experience as follows:

> Which agrees with that of the same Apostle to the Ephes. Iv, 14, 15, where he tells the way to get a sure undoubted knowledge of things is to hold that for truth which accords mostly with charity. Whose unerring guidance and conduct having followed as a loadster with all diligence and fidelty in this question, I trust, through the help of that illuminating Spirit which hath favoured me, to have done no everyday's work . . .[13]

His religion is said to have been orthodox. The orthodox Christianity means the doctrine of the Trinity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The orthodox religious experience is said to be as follows:

> . . . you are not in the flesh, you are in the Spirit, if the Spirit of God really dwells in you. (Romans viii, 9)

The Spirit of his who raised Jesus from the dead is thought to have dwelt in Milton, who wrote the experience in above lines. Therefore, "Celestial Patroness" is thought to be the Spirit of God.[14]

We now see that "Heav'nly Muse" (1, 6), "holy Light" (III, 1), "Celestial Light"

(III, 51), "Urania" (VII, 1), and "Celestial Patroness" are derived from the same universal being, the Holy Spirit. And our first hypothesis is now affirmed (see p. 15).

Milton's ideal Muse was the Holy Spirit as we have so far seen. And this fact was concluded from what he wrote about the Muse in the poem; in other words, this conclusion is based on the ideal of his Muse. It sometimes happens, though in general, that ideality and actuality are not the same. What does he mean by the following lines?

> Thee I re-visit now with bolder wing, (III, 13)
> . . . and up reascend, (III, 20)
> . . . thee I revisit safe . . . (III, 21)

"re-visit" clearly shows that he was once away from the "holy Light." This fact is ascertained by the next lines:[15]

> . . . though fall'n on the evil dayes,
> On evil dayes though fall'n . . . (VII, 25–26)

A question now arises as to what his Muse was when he fell from the Muse. We notice a significant fact that it was being taught by the "heav'nly Muse" when he sang of *Chaos* and external night (which is in Book II) that he ventured down the dark descent and reascended up (see VII, 18–21). Therefore, the "heav'nly Muse" is thought to be the Muse in the case. Again a question is what the "heav'nly Muse" was.

The difference between the "Heav'nly Muse" and "heav'nly Muse" is that between "Heav'nly" and "heav'nly." Helen Darbishire says in the preface of *The Poetical Works of John Milton*:

> A prolonged study of Milton's manuscripts and printed texts has taught me that he used spelling and punctuation with deliberate care for his own ends. . . .[16]

She illustrates the difference of meanings between "*Powers*" and "power"; the "*Word*" and "word."[17] She also shows that "Heav'nly" is distinguished from "heav'nly"[18], therefore, it is thought not to be fruitless to search after some knowledge of differences between "Heav'nly" and "heav'nly" to identify the "heav'nly Muse."

First, a linguistic investigation shall be made; usages of "Heav'nly" and "heav'nly" are arranged (the number of the two is not so large as to require the statistical method).

Heav'nly

I, 6 Sing Heav'nly Muse, that on the secret top
I, 138 As farr as God and Heav'nly Essences can perish
III, 213 Say Heav'nly Powers, where shall we such love
III, 217 He askt, but all the Heav'nly Quire stood mute,
III, 298 So Heav'nly love shall outdoo Hellish hate,
IV, 686 With Heav'nly touch of instrumental sounds

V, 286 And shook his Plumes, that Heav'nly fragrance filld
V, 316 Heav'nly stranger, please to taste
V, 397 Heav'nly stranger, well we may afford
V, 500 Here or in Heav'nly Paradise dwell;
VII, 7 Of old Olmpus dwelst, but Heav'nlie Guest,
VII, 39 For thou art Heav'nly, shee an empty
VII, 69 Proceeded thus to ask his Heav'nly Guest,
VIII, 356 And to the Heav'nly vision thus presum'd
VIII, 379 Let not my word offend thee, Heav'nly Power
VIII, 453 My earthly by his Heav'nly overpowerd,
VIII, 458 Led by her Heav'nly Maker, thou unseen,
IX, 151 With Heav'nly spoils, our spoils; what he decreed
IX, 457 Thus earlie, thus alone; her Heav'nly forme
XI, 17 Dimentionless through Heav'nly dores; then clad
XI, 871 As present, Heav'nly instructer, I revive
XII, 256 The Heav'nly fires; over the Tent a Cloud

heav'nly

I, 361 Thought of thir Names in heav'nly Records now
II, 499 Of heav'nly Grace; and God proclaiming peace
II, 757 Then shining heav'nly fair, a Goddess armd
II, 813 Though temprd heav'nly, for that mortal dint,
II, 824 Both him and thee, and all the heav'nly Host
II, 860 Inhabitant of Heav'n, and heav'nlie-born,
IV, 118 For heav'nly mindes from such distempers foule
IV, 361 Not Spirits, yet to heav'nly Spirits bright
IV, 711 And heav'nly Quires the Hymenaean sung,
VI, 165 To heav'nly Soules had bin all one; but now
VI, 723 O Father, O Supream of heav'nly Thrones,
VI, 788 In heav'nly Spirits could such perversness dwell?
VII, 210 On heav'nly ground they stood, and from the shore
VIII, 217 To whom thus *Raphael* answerd heav'nly
VIII, 592 By which to heav'nly Love thou maist ascend,
VIII, 646 Go heav'nly Guest, Ethereal Messenger,
IX, 607 Semblance, and in thy Beauties heav'nly Ray
IX, 1082 And rapture so oft behold? those heav'nly shapes
X, 624 A place so heav'nly, and conniving seem
X, 641 He ended, and the heav'nly Audience loud
X, 872 Henceforth; least that too heav'nly form pretended
XI, 207 And slow descends, with somthing heav'nly Bands
XI, 208 He errd not, for by this the heav'nly Bands
XI, 230 One of the heav'nly Host, and by his Gate

("heav'nly" of Book III, 19 is naturally excluded here. *heav'nly*'s of Book II, 19 and of Book VII, 7 escape the concordance of John Bradshaw.)

Milton uses twenty-two *Heav'nly*'s and twenty-seven *heav'nly*'s According to *O.E.D.*, there are four meanings which are thought to fit into the words in the case:

1. Of or belonging to heaven, as the bode of God.
2. Of or belonging to the natural heaven or sky; now chiefly in the phrase heavenly bodies, *i.e.*, the stars, planets, comets, *etc.*
3. Having relation to heaven and divine things; divine, sacred, holy, blessed.
4. Having the excellence, beauty, or delight that belongs to heaven; of more than earthly or human excellence;

(1)	(3)	(4)
Heav'nly (III, 217)	Heav'nly (I, 6)	Heav'nly (V, 286)
Heav'nly (V, 316)	Heav'nly (I, 138)	Heav'nly (VIII, 453)
Heav'nly (V, 397)	Heav'nly (III, 298)	Heav'nly (IX, 457)
Heav'nly (V, 500)	Heav'nly (IV, 686)	heav'nly (II, 757)
Heav'nly (VII, 7)	Heav'nly (VIII, 356)	heav'nly (IV, 118)
Heav'nly (VII, 39)	Heav'nly (VIII, 379)	heav'nly (IV, 361)
Heav'nly (VII, 69)	Heav'nly (VIII, 485)	heav'nly (X, 624)
Heav'nly (IX, 151)	Heav'nly (XII, 256)	heav'nly (X, 872)
Heav'nly (XI, 17)	heav'nly (II, 499)	
Heav'nly (XI, 871)	heav'nly (VIII, 217)	
heav'nly (I, 361)	heav'nly (VIII, 592)	
heav'nly (II, 824)	heav'nly (VIII, 646)	
heav'nly (II, 860)	heav'nly (IX, 607)	
heav'nly (IV, 711)	heav'nly (IX, 730)	
heav'nly (VI, 165)	heav'nly (IX, 1082)	
heav'nly (VI, 723)	heav'nly (XI, 207)	
heav'nly (VI, 788)	heav'nly (XI, 208)	
heav'nly (VII, 210)		
heav'nly (VIII, 615)		
heav'nly (X, 641)		
heav'nly (XI, 230)		

Above table tells us that there are no distinctions of *meaning* between "Heav'nly" and "heav'nly."

Next, some distinctions of their usages made by the narrators and their objects shall be examined. The narrators (except Milton himself) are grouped into the three: the Hell group, the Earth Group, and the Heaven Group.

The Hell Group

Narrators			Objects	
Satan:	(1)	Heav'nly Spoils	.....Throne of man	(IX, 151)
	(2)	heav'nly Host	.....Rebellious angels	(II, 824)
	(3)	heav'nly Spirits	.....Angels	(IV, 361)
	(4)	heav'nly Soules	.....Angels	(VI, 165)
	(5)	heav'nly Ray	.....Eve*	(IX, 607)
	(6)	Heav'nly breasts	.....Angels	(IX, 730)
Sin:	(7)	heav'nly fair	.....Sin	(II, 757)
	(8)	heav'nly, temperd	.....Satan's arms	(II, 813)
	(9)	heav'nlie-born	.....Sin	(II, 860)
Beezelbub:	(10)	Heav'nly Essences**	.....Angels	(I, 138)

*Eve before she committed the sin. **On the difference between "all this mighty Host" and "Gods and Heav'nly Essences," see Book I, 136–138. The former is said on the side of "us" (i.e., rebellious angels), and the latter is said in general.

Among these, the objects belonging to the same Hell Group are, (2), (7), (8), (9). They are all modified with "heav'nly." The objects belonging to other groups are (1), (3), (4), (5), (6), and (10). "Heav'nly" is used among (1) and (10). "heav'nly" is used among (3), (4), (5), and (6). It is thought from this fact that "Heav'nly" is used when the positive element* is included either in a narrator or in an object, and that "heav'nly" is used either when the positive element is included, or when it is not included in both sides ((2), (7), (9)). "Heav'nly" always includes the positive element is in either side of the two; whereas "heav'nly" does not always include the positive elements.

*By the positive is meant here the side of God, and by the negative, the side of Satan. This duality constitutes the whole structure of *Paradise Lost*.

The Earth Group

Narrators			Objects	
Adam (B)*:	(1)	Heav'nly touch	.....Instrument	(IV, 686)
	(2)	Heav'nly stranger	.....Raphael	(V, 316)
	(3)	Heav'nly stranger	.....Raphael	(V, 397)
	(4)	Heav'nly Power	.....God	(VIII, 379)
	(5)	Heav'nly overpowerd	.....God	(VIII, 453)
	(6)	Heav'nly Maker	.....God	(VIII, 485)
	(7)	Heav'nly instructer	.....Michael	(VIII, 871)
	(8)	heav'nly Spirits	.....Angels	(VIII, 615)
	(9)	heav'nly Guest	.....Raphael	(VIII, 646)

Adam (A)**:	(10)	heav'nly shapes	.....Angels	(IX, 1082)
	(11)	heav'nly form	.....Eve***	(X, 872)
	(12)	heav'nly fraught	.....Angels	(XI, 207)
	(13)	heav'nly Bands	.....Angels	(XI, 208)
	(14)	heav'nly Hosts	.....Angels	(XI, 230)

(*Adam before the fall.)
(**Adam after the fall.)
(***Eve after the fall.)

Eve is described in the negative (see Book X, 867–908). Adam the narrator is also described in the negative; he had been fallen with Eve when he said to her: ". . . heav'nly form, pretended/To hellish falsehood. . . ." No positive elements are included in the both sides; therefore, "Heav'nly" is not used but "heav'nly" is.

Raphael is called by Adam either "Heav'nly stranger" or "heav'nly Guest." The context runs as follows:

> . . . and will voutsafe
> This day to be our Guest. But goe with speed,
> And what thy stores contain, bring forth and poure
> Abundance, fit to hour and receive
> *Our Heav'nly stranger* . . . (V, 312–316)
>
> Go *heav'nly Guest*, Ethereal Messenger,
> Gentle to me and affable hath been
> Thy condescension, and shall be honoured ever
> With grateful Memorie . . . (VIII, 646–650)
>
> (Italics are mine.)

A gradual change of Adam's feelings toward Raphael is noticed. At first, Adam felt rather tensed ("voutsafe," "fit to honour," "bowing low" (1.360)—these words show Adam's tension of mind as well as his submissiveness and reverence to Raphael). And as time went on, his tension of mind came to be released to a certain degree. He says that Raphael has been gentle and affable (VIII, 648–9). Accordingly, his way of addressing Raphael is seen to have changed from "Heav'nly stranger" to "heav'nly Guest." It is considered from the fact that "Heav'nly" is implicative of familiality; therefore, it is thought that "Heav'nly" fits into "stranger," and "Heav'nly" into "Guest."

The Heaven Group

Narrators		Objects	
God:	(1)	Heav'nly love.....God's love	(III, 298)
	(2)	heav'nly, place so .....Paradise	(X, 624)
	(3)	heav'nly Throne .....Angels	(VI, 723)
Son:	(4)	Heav'nly Paradise .....God's dwelling	(V, 500)
Raphael:	(5)	heav'nly Love .....Angels' love	(VIII, 592)

By "Heav'nly" is meant here "of God," and by "heav'nly (except that of (2) which means blissful), "of angels," or "among angels."

Narrator			Objects	
Milton:	(1)	Heav'nly Muse	.....God	(I, 6)
	(2)	Heav'nly Quire	.....Quire	(III, 217)
	(3)	Heav'nly fragrance	.....Fragrance	(V, 286)
	(4)	Heav'nlie	.....Urania (is)	(VII, 7)
	(5)	Heav'nlie	.....Urania (is)	(VII, 39)
	(6)	Heav'nly Guest	.....Raphael	(VII, 69)
	(7)	Heav'nly vision	.....God	(VIII, 356)
	(8)	Heav'nly dore	.....Door	(XI, 17)
	(9)	heav'nly Record	.....Record	(I, 361)
	(10)	heav'nly Grace	.....Holy Spirit	(II, 499)
	(11)	heav'nly minds	.....Angels	(IV, 118)
	(12)	heav'nly Quires	.....Quires	(IV, 711)
	(13)	heav'nly Spirits	.....Angels	(VI, 788)
	(14)	heav'nly ground	.....Ground	(VII, 210)
	(15)	heav'nly meek	.....Raphael (is)	(VIII, 217)
	(16)	heav'nly Bands	.....Bands	(XI, 208)

"Heav'nly" is not used in the negative. "Heav'nly Quire" and "heav'nly Quire" are referred to the same object which is narrated by the same poet. What is the difference between them? "Heav'nly Quire" is of the earthly paradise before the fall. "Heav'nly Quire" is felt to be the expression of servitude to God, and "heav'nly Quire," of the celestial praiser of man.

The general difference of usages between them are noticed. Now to summarize, "Heav'nly" is used only in the positive, and "heav'nly" is used both in the positive and in the negative. "Heav'nly" is implicative only of the positive; whereas, "heav'nly" both of the positive and the negative. "Heav'nly" is seen to be more emphatic on the attributes of the Heaven than "heav'nly" is.

CHAPTER II

IDENTIFICATION OF THE "HEAV'NLY MUSE"

"Heav'nly Muse" is thought to be real in the universe; she was identified as the Holy Spirit. If "heav'nly Muse" is thought to be real in the universe, two kinds of Milton's Muse in the universe should be admitted. This concept of his Muse is contrary to the idea of the Miltonic Muse. I shall deal with the problem on reality and nonentity of the

Heav'nly Muse."

(1) Inhabitant of Heav'n, and heav'nlie-born (II, 860)
(2) . . . Heav'nlie borne (VII, 7)

"Inhabitant of Heav'n, and heav'nlie-born" is referred to Sin. On plotting agaist God in heaven with the rebellious angels, Satan was afflicted with a miserable pain; his eyes were dimed, dazzled in darkness, then his head flamed up, and opened wide on the left side out of which came a shining fair Goddess who was Sin (see Book II, 747–760). She was born indeed in heaven, but what was her essence except the condensation of the sin of Satan? Though she was heavenly bright, her brightness was derived from the physical light without divinity. "Heav'nly" implies the reality of *Urania* (see pp. 5–6); whereas, "heav'nlie" is thought to imply no reality of Sin; there lies a discontinuity between the poet and the story. "heav'nly" is used in the negative (*i.e.*, "discontinuity" against continuity).

We meet with the following line in *A Mask:*

What the sage Poet taught by th' heav'nly Muse (1. 515)

This is comparable to the phrases in question:

Taught by the heav'nly Muse to venture down (III, 19)

If we find that the "heav'nly Muse" in *A Mask* is the Holy Spirit (*i.e.*, "Heav'nly Muse"), we shall find it difficult to decide the identity of the "heav'nly Muse" in question. But if we are convinced that the "heav'nly Muse" in *A Mask* is not the Holy Spirit, it will give us one step to the identification of the "heav'nly Muse" in *Paradise Lost.*

When he wrote *A Mask* in 1632, Milton is thought to have been receptive of the Holy Spirit (I shall deal with this subject in Chapter IV), which might make Walter Bagehot feel a definite power, spiritual dignity and capacity in the work.[19] It is said *A Mask*, as well as Milton's other work is his private and public expression; therefore, the Spirit that Milton conceived can be regarded as one of the most influential elements in the work.[20]

The hero in the work was so far thought to be Comus. But the most impressive character in the work would be the Lady.[21] Robert Bridges, the poet laurate, selected some verses from the words of the Lady in his anthology:[22]

What might this be? A thousand fantasies
Begin to throng into my memory
Of calling shapes, and beckning shadows dire,
And airy tongues, that syllable mens names
On Sands, and Shoars, and desert Wildernesses. (11. 205–209)

The Lady's peculiar thoughts shall be selected from her words:

O welcom pure-ey'd *Faith*, white-handed *Hope*,
Thou hovering Angel girt with golden wings,
And thou unblemish't form of *Chastity*,
I see ye visibly, and now beleeve
That he, the *Supreme good*, t'whom all things ill
Are but as slavish officers of vengeance,
Would send a glistring Gurdian if need were
To keep my life and honour unassail'd. (11. 213–220)

Fie me blest Providence, and square my triall
To my proportion'd strenght. (11. 329–330)

Thou canst not touch the freedom of my minde
With all thy charms, although this corporal rinde
Thou hast immanacl'd, while Heav'n sees good. (11. 663–605)
(Italics are mine.)

The first to be noticed is that the Lady has the metaphysical knowledge of the eternal being (the Supreme good, Providence, for example). The second to be noticed is that she demands the help of the eternal being. The third to be noticed is that she uses the personified form of faith, hope, and chastity (a variation of charity, love?). This thought of the Lady, which Milton is thought to have intended so, is derived from the Christian ideas; the sequent use of "Faith," "Hope," and "Chastity" (a variation of Charity, if not, it resembles charity phonetically and given the effect of reminding a hearer of charity) is thought to have been taken from the Bible:

So faith, hope, love abide these three . . . (I Corinthians viii, 13)

The Lady's thought, which is seen in the lines quoted above, that she asks for a help of the eternal being corresponds with that of the attendant Spirit who is ready to help those who ask defence of him. I shall quote again the Lady's words to compare their thoughts. The first is the Lady's:

. . . the Supreme good . . .
. . . .
Would send a glistring Gurdian if need were
To keep my life and honour unassail'd.

The attendant Spirit says:

Yet som there be that by due steps aspire
To lay their just hands on that Golden Key
That ope's the Palace of Eternity:
To such my errand is, and but for such,
I would not soil these pure Ambrosial weeds,
With the rank vapours of this Sin-worn mould. (11. 12–17)

(The Lady is thought to be among the "pure Ambrosial.")

. . . by quick command from Sovran Jove
I was dispatcht for their defence . . . (11. 41–42)

Therefore when any favour'd of high Jove,
Chances to passe through this adventrous glade,
Swift as the Sparkle of a glancing Star,
I shoot from Heav'n to give him safe convoy, (11. 78–81)

To be brief the attendant Spirit is depatched on earth by the command of Jove to save a crisis of his beloved one. The attendant Spirit is functionally regarded as a *glistring Gurdian* (1.219) in terms of the Lady.

The attendant Spirit may not be of pure Christian idea, in that he was despatched from the pagan Jove and that paganism is seen in his speech (see 11. 1–92). But such an opinion that he has no significance of Christianity because of his paganish elements, or that there is little that is Christian about *Comus*[23] is hardly to be accepted. Moreover, it is natural that a Christian reader should feel or try to feel Biblical images in an admixture of paganism and Christianity. Rosemond Tuve writes:

> . . . they need not be Biblical in order to work in a poem as support for Christian moral or ontological assumptions. . . .[24]

On the problem of the relations between paganism and Christianity in a literature, as such phrases show, as "the conflict of pagan and Christian ideas in the poem," or "the shock of the sudden juxtaposition,"[25] there seems to be many arguings. We need not, however, argue the general subject on paganism and Christianity in a literature.

As we have already seen, the Lady's position is of Christian ideas. This conclusion meets with an approval of a critic. Rosemond Tuve says:

> The Lady's position is the completely Christian one.[26]

The Lady's position, as we have exemplified, is quite correspondent with that of the attendant Spirit. This fact means that the attendant Spirit also may have Christian significance. It is said that there are two important copies of *A Mask*, one is the Trinity MS. which is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (T. MS.), and the other is the Bridgewater MS. which is in the library of Bridgewater House (B. MS.).[27] Helen Darbishire says in relation to T. MS., ". . . the delections and revisions can be seen to have been made at different times. . ."[28] In T. MS., the attendant Spirit was at first called "A Gurdian spirit" or "Daemon."[29] Milton is thought to have revised "Daemon" into the *attendant Spirit*.[30] Daemon which has no significance of Christianity[31] means an attendant, ministering, or indwelling spirit; a genius (OED.); whereas, the attendant Spirit which has the wider meaning can be applied to Christian idea. It is thought from the above facts that Milton intended to signify Christian idea in the attendant Spirit. It says in the Bible:

> . . . I will pray the Father and he will give you another
> Counseller, to be with you forever. (John xiv, 17)

The role of the attendant Spirit in *A Mask* is comparable to that of Counseller in the Bible. They are to be despatched from Heaven to guard the chosen people. The attendant Spirit takes the carnalized form, but Counseller is invisible. This is the difference that does not affect their essence. Counseller is the Holy Spirit; therefore we may be right in saying that Milton intended the attendant Spirit to be the carnalized form of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is the "Heav'nly Muse"; therefore, the attendant Spirit is the carnalized form of the "Heav'nly Muse." This idea is syllogistically true. But it is left to be examined precisely. In *Paradise Lost* the poet is calling to the "Heav'nly Muse":

> . . . *I thence*
> *Invoke thy aid to my adventrous Song,*
> That with no middle flight intends to soar
> Above th' *Aonian* Mount; while it persues
> *Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rime.*
> And chiefly Thou O Spirit, that dost preferr
> Before all Temles th' upright heart and pure,
> *Instruct me, for Thou knowest*; Thou from the first
> Wast present, . . . (I, 12–20)
>
> (Italics are mine.)

And the attendant Spirit is speaking thus:

> And listen why, for I will tell ye now
> What never yet was heard in Tale or Song
> From old. . . . (11. 43–45)

We notice some correspondences between the "Heav'nly Muse" and the attendant Spirit. The poet asks to the former, "Instruct me . . . ." And the latter answers, ". . . listen . . . I will tell ye now. . . ." "Prose" and "Rime" correspond with "Tale" and "Song" respectively. There seems to be no room for disputing that the correspondence, in addition to the fact mentioned above, shows their same concept of the heavenly being.[32]

The "heav'nly Muse" (*A Mask*, 1. 515) should be regarded as something but the "Heav'nly Muse" in *Paradise Lost*.[33] In view of the facts that the differences of usages between "Heav'nly" and "heav'nly" are admitted and that the "heav'nly Muse" in *A Mask* is not the "Heav'nly Muse," we can deduce that the "heav'nly Muse" in *Paradise Lost* is not the generally-accepted Miltonic Muse. This deduction will be of no use without some evidence; we are not justified in applying the principle to the other without evidence, internal or external.

Milton writes the following verses in the third stanza of the proem of *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*:

> Say *Heav'nly Muse*, shall not thy sacred vein
> Afford a present to the Infant God?
> Hast thou no vers, no hymn, or solemn strein,

To welcom him to this his new abode,
Now while the Heav'n by the Suns team untrod,
  Hath took no print of the approaching light,
And all the spangled host keep watch in squadrons bright? (Italics are mine.)

A question now arises as to the identity of "Heav'nly Muse" in the stanza.

The three Magi from the East, led by the star, came to the place where Jesus Christ had been born, and they blessed him with three gifts: "See how from far upon the Easter rode/ The Star-led Wisards haste with odours sweet:" (11. 22–23). This is orignated in the Bible: ". . . behold wise men from the east came to Jerusalem. . . . the star which they had seen in the East went before them, till it came to rest over the place where the child was . . . and going into the house they fell down and worshiped him. Then, opening their treasures, they offered him gifts, gold and frankincense and myrrh" (Matthew ii: 1–12). The story is admitted as the historical fact. But the story just sung by the poet's imagination, rather than the historical past fact, or it is thought that the poet was, then, at the same time on the same day in the year 1629 as when Jesus was born; namely, the three wise men were coming to Jerusalem to offer the gifts to the Infant in the poet's imaginary world. On the other hand, the poet himself was given the song as the gift to the Infant at the same time:

Dona quidem dedimus Christi natalibus illa,
Illa sub auroram lux mihi prima tulit. (*Elegia sexta*, 11. 87–88)

This song I offered as gift on the birthday of Christ; the first light, as the dawn drew near, gave me this song.[34]

This "dona" is the poet's own present to the Infant God. He means to equal their gifts with this "dona": "O run, prevent them with thy humble ode" (1. 24).

The poet now calls to the "Heav'nly Muse": ". . . shall not thy sacred vein/ Afford a present to the Infant God?" The poet's conception of heavenly inspiration of sacred poetry should be thought to be represented by "Heav'nly Muse." It is thought that "Heav'nly Muse" was *a priori*; the contents that she had took the shape in the poem through the poet. *The Hymn* is what the sacred vein of "Heav'nly Muse" has taken form of the poem. In other words, it was the "Heav'nly Muse" that presented him with the poem.

And joyn thy voice unto the Angel Quire,
From out his secret Altar toucht with hallow'd fire. (11. 27–28)

The "Angel Quire" is thought to be the heavenly being. The "Heav'nly Muse," however, is not one with "Angel Quire"; some distance is seen between the two ("joyn" shows it). Therefore, the "Heav'nly Muse" is not thought to be the heavenly being. But we cannot say that she has nothing to do with the eternity. The poet is seen to try to combine

the "Heav'nly Muse" with the eternal being. This trial of the poet means that the "Heav'nly Muse," which has the sacred disposition, is not one with the heavenly being. It may mean a process of the poet's spirituality which begins to reach the cosmic soul, having been aroused. The poet's attitude is also seen in the following line:

> From out his secret Altar toucht with hallow'd fire. (1. 28)

This line is rhetorically an allusion to Isaiah vi: 1–7, the meaning of which he says:

> . . . that eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and send out his Seraphim with the hallowed fire of his Altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases.[35]

Seraph has an ability to set the poet to be the right situation for receiving the Holy Spirit. The poet endeavors to ennoble and consecrate thoughts which welled frorth from his mind to the height of eternity.[36]

From the above-mentioned conclusion, the "Heav'nly Muse" is not thought to be the Holy Spirit, but the poet's poetic spirituality. She is not, hower, quite heterogeneous from the Holy Spirit. Rosemond Tuve writes:

> Heavenly Muse is already that Renaissance and Neo-Platonic Urania who, as Wisdom, was prsent to know the mysteries of the Creation when once before the Word came down. She has not yet as in *Paradise Lost* become one with the Holy Spirit, who as God's Love or God's Wisdom attends upon the bringing of poetry like all else from formless into formal being. But the whole conception is effortlessly Christianized with reference from the prophet of the Incarnation . . .[38]

There seems to be some rooms for arguments as to if the "Heav'nly Muse" is already the Neo-Platonic Urania.[38] Rosemond Tuve is thought to hold an idea that Milton was not spiritually pure at the age of twenty-one; he was separate from Christianity in the deepest and severest sense. She also says that Milton's conception of the heavenly inspiration of sacred poetry is not simple.[39] The essence of human soul is not supposed to change according to any philosophy; therefore, it seems impossible to distinguish man's spiritual state with the name of philosophy. We should appreciate Milton's will to unite his poetic inspiration with Christian idea.

We are required to know Milton's spiritual development at the time when he wrote the *Nativity* ode to solidify the conclusion (see p. 29, *infra*). A man's spiritual state is apt to be governed by the outward factors. Of course, a man who really has received the Holy Spirit will not be ruled by anything but God, just as Satan says in the hell: "One who brings/ A minde not to be chang' d by Place or Time. The minde is its own place, and in it self/Can make a Heav'n of Hell. . . ." (I, 252–255). Satan solely relies upon himself and commits wickedness. This is the opposite to that of the former.

The environments include living conditions, way of daily life, relations with friends

and teachers, academic and religious atomosphere of the college, social and political situations, and so forth. They are to influence individual's spiritual and intelletual developments. I shall deal with these factors in detail. I have quoted the following Chapter III from *The Intellectual Development of John Milton* by Harris Francis Fletcher, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1965.

PART TWO
MILTON 1625–1629
CHAPTER III
THE BACKGROUNDS OF HIS SPIRITUAL FORMATION

Living conditions:

Milton resided in Christ's College from 1625 until the summer of 1632 (p. 68). In the spring of 1625, when Milton took residence, Christ's College was made up students, about a dozen fellows, the master, a few other officers, and the necessary servants, such as a cook, a subcook or subcooks, various other males in menial capacities, and no matter how much they were legislated against, women bedmakers, laundresses, and similar females (pp. 69–70). The rooms that Milton occupied in Christ's Colleges have been traditionally located, on the basis of no known evidence, in the other part of the building on the left side of the court opening from the street gate, the first-floor rooms on the first stair. Masson (1: 132) described them as they were about 1860 when they consisted of a small study with two windows looking out into the court, and a tiny adjoining bedroom. These were the rooms that William Wordsworth, at St. John's between 1786–1789, discovered to be occupied by one of his fellow students, which excited the young Wordsworth that he proceeded to get drunk for the occasion. . . . However, it is well to heed Masson's caution about these quarters, for, as he pointed out, it would have been most unusual if not impossible in Milton's day and even much later for any student or even a fellow in the college to have had chambers wholly to himself. Milton probably shared these or other quarters with one or two, or even three other sudents, but exactly with whom it is impossible to tell. There is some evidence . . . that at St. John's and Trinity four students, or one fellow and two or three students shared a chamber. Robert Pory, who was admitted to Christ's College 28 February 1625 N.S. and who also matriculated from St. Paul's School in April of the same year may have shared quarters with Milton, the two names appearing one after the other in both college and university records (pp. 27–28). Living conditions were crude compared to our standards: Little heat in the winter; study by candlelight always if done at night;

no help in the way of readymade reference books in great number—indeed, the scholar still had to make most of his own, as the extant commonplace books demonstrate. Nevertheless, then as now, many performed remarkably, overcoming all difficulties (p. 61).

The town:

In the spring of 1625, when Milton took residence there the town looked about as it had for many decades before, along with the university and the various colleges, and buildings of all three only became shabbier as the century advanced. At that time the town proper 'out of the colleges' had a population of perhaps five thausand people. . . . The town was almost circled by grazing and cultivated lands. The leisurely journeys to and from London, together with his rambles about the countryside surrounding the town, provided Milton with ample opportunities to observe various phases of country life, many of which found expression in both prose and verse. Loggan showed the shepherd, the field crops, and the untilled and harvested acres over which ranged the hunter these being the common surroundings of the town and the country about Cambridge suggests many of the pastoral and agrarian lines of *L'Allegro-Il Penseroso*. . . . Less than five miles southeast of the colleges were the Gog Magog Hills, with other hills just west of them. The higher country began with this finger of high ground that reached north west into the Cam basin, the basin itself running roughly to the northeast as the river flowed north into the Fen country. The hunting lines in *L'Allegro* with their mild suggestions of hazy distances may have been suggested by the hills, about three hundred feet high, to the south and east of the town. . . . Loggan pictures of the colleges, especially those showing the exteriors preserve many elements of the life of the time as well as some academic aspects. Here and there a mendicant appears; sometimes a peddler with tray or pack; travelers with bundles on sticks carried over their shoulders; once or twice a man pushing a form of wheelbarrow; a gravedigger at work in Great St. Mary's Churchyard; horses grazing in the yard of the great King's College Chapel; men—occasionally a woman sitting sideways—horseback; burden bears; wains (wagons) with two or four horses in pairs . . . persons in academic costumes; and more dogs, expressly prohibited by special statutes. . . . Much of the life the town revolved around that of the colleges and university. Because of the university the town itself was probably a little more extensively provided with varieties of goods and service than most provincial town of its size . . . in the seventeenth century. The students needed the services and goods of shoemakers, barbers, stationers . . . very much like present-day students. Booksellers were relatively few, and printing was highly restricted. . . . In general, the town of Cambridge served the needs of the university students and faculty, including the

nonacademic members of the university community. The town, like the town of Oxford was far better eqipped for such university services than for any other purpose, and thus many more kinds of industry could be found in both university towns than in other provincial towns and cities much larger than these (pp. 13–15).

The student life:

From what we have been able to discover, the daily pattern of college life at Christ's in Milton's day, and long before and later, was strenuous by today's standards, as all life at that time seems to us. It begins with assembly in the college chapel at five in the morning. The service, lasting perhaps an hour, was often followed by a delivery by one of the fellows of his *loci communes* or commonplaces, a practice that was apparently mandatory. . . . Thses commonplaces were sermonlike permances, affording the fellows, almost ordained priest or deacons, an opportunity to practice speaking in public. But the performances were intended to be polished, not extempore exercises. . . . After the chapel exercises came breakfast in commons, the *pensionarius maier* now and at other meals showing his rank by eating at the table with fellows, hence the English term fellow commoner. . . . The regular work of the day followed breakfast. The formal or semipublic academic work done by the scholars was of two kinds, changing as the scholars remained in residence: college work (*domi*), and university work (*foris*). For the *domi*, the formal exercises were held in the chapel or hall, besides which each freshmen in the tutor's rooms, where the *lecturae* by the tutor began, accompanied by various other exercises. In Christ's College each student had a special lecture with whom he also regurly met. . . . College or university public exercises, with changes in the routine between tutorial sessions and attendance at examinations, declamations, and other public offerings by professors, lectures, fellows and students afforded on various days lasted until noon, when there was reassembly in the commons for dinner. The early afternoon was usually taken up with disputations in the college or university 'public schools.' The university exercises consisted of lectures by the university professors of Greek, logic, or some other general subject; and hearing or partaking in the public performances of all students, whatever their college, who were preparing for degrees. The attendance at the university lectures was urged but not mandatory in any period after 1550. The remainder of the day was more or less free until evening chapel about six, and supper in the hall, about seven. . . .

Strict adherence to such rules had been greatly softened by Milton's day, although almost any could be rigorously applied if need arose. Probably the most neglected were the rules concerning roaming the town, and fellows alike, the three taverns, Dolphin, Rose, and Mitre, being called 'the best tutors in the university'. . . . Everybody smoked, as the order issued in 1615 during the impending visit of James I indicates. . . .

Principally, as the seventeenth century advanced, they centered in charge of Puritanism, or neglect of old ecclesiastical observances. It became fashionable to profess new, startling principles, and to scoff at all religious manifestations. Absence from public prayers by masters and fellow commoners began to spread to the scholars generally. The set forms of prayer were frequently abandoned for extempore praying, an abomination to certain persons, 'our young scholars are thereby taught to prefer the private spirit before the public, and their own invented and unapproved prayers before the Liturgy of the Church' (pp. 57–60).

The religious life:

All students were required by status to engage in a certain amount of public religious activity, beginning at admission, when the student was asked to sign the articles of faith of the Anglican Church by enough oral interrogation to confirm his principal adherence to them. Since 1603, or soon after the accession of James I, it had become increasingly difficult for any papist to secure residence in either university, and as the century advance, the principal defections from Anglicanism were statute and under the Anglican *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical* (London, 1604) were required to attend church services a fixed number of times a year as a minimum, and the reports from many students of the time reveal that churchgoing was almost obsession with many, some students reporting that by going to different churches in Cambridge, they were able to hear as many as seven differnt sermons on a single Sunday. These public manifestations of devotion were indulged in by many but by no means all students and faculty alike, though few of either group were actually so devout as the mandated attendance at church exercises might indicate (pp. 91–92). . . . In addition to the weekly church services on Sundays, there were the chapel exercises in each college that took place every morning as regularly as the day began, and at which attendance was mandatory. In commons there was grace before and after meat; indeed, no opportunity was overlooked that could invoke prayer. . . . (pp. 92–93).

We may well say that Milton's sensitive soul would have been influenced and developed by these devotional lives and the religious atomosphere at the college. We shall see further about Milton's religious study:

> Living as he did in about the middle of the great flowering time of Biblical scholarship and greatly affected by it, Milton became a Biblical scholar in his own right who was far better than average. . . . Milton's serious efforts with Scripture began before he began his grammar, and from then on never ceased. . . . By 1625 he was reading the text in English, in Latin, both Vulgate and Junius-Tremellius, both Septuagint and New Testament Greek, and had begun reading Tenach in Hebrew and perhaps also the Aramic Targums. . . . In addition, it is likely indeed inevitable, that he also encountered Biblical text in Italian, French, Spanish, and in any other modern languages that he studied (p. 102).

Fletcher arranges Milton's Bible reading and study systematically for the period 1625–1632, and we may not have to know each book that he read. We may as well, however, get a knowledge of his Bible reading to conceive a concrete idea of Milton and to approach Milton himself.

English Versions:

> . . . the Bible that was most widely received during the latter part of sixteenth and in the early seventeenth century in England was the so-called Genevan version, a Bible in English more or less formed by the Marian exiles while in Geneva. . . . In the library of the British Museum . . . there is a copy of the 1611 version. . . . In this Bible Milton wrote the brief genealogies of his children and of the two Phillips boys, as well as his own birth data. . . . These two English versions, the Genevan and the 1611, were each in Milton's possession for long time. . . . throughout his lifetime Milton used the Genevan and the 1611 English versions of the Bible. . . . (pp. 103–4).

Latin Versions:

> There were two versions of the Latin Bible used by Milton. The older of these was the Vulgate, or Jerome's Latin, finished by about 385, and in Milton's day only recently revised by Ximenese and approved by the Council of Trent (1545–63) as the official Bible of the Roman Catholic Church, the Clementine of 1592. . . . since from grammar school onward Milton was familiar with and used the Vulgate. . . . Milton was by no means unusual in his knowldge and the use of the Vulgate text, since everybody of his day and earlier had used it and had been familiar with it if they were serious students of the Bible at all. . . . About 1579 the first issues of a great Protestant Latin Bible appeared. The Old Testament was translated by John Immanuel Tremellius (1510–80), a converted Jew, and the elder Francois Du Jon (Franciscus Junius, 1545–1602); the Apocrypha was by Junius alone; and the New Testament was by Theodore Beza. Then dated 1580, 1579, the whole Bible appeared at London in quarto, Syriac New Testament. This form was variously reprinted, and the folio editions usually paralled Tremellius' Latin version of the New Testament. No copy may actually exist. . . . Of course, if such a copy should be found and authenticated it would be worth much in connection with Milton's Biblical studies (pp. 105–106).

Greek Bible:

> The Bible in Greek presents a different picture from the same Bible in English or Latin. In Milton's day it means a Bible that was a combination of the Septugiant and the Greek New Testament. The Septuagint was a wholly Jewish work, done traditionally by seventy rabbies (whence its name) in Alexandria in order that the expatriated Jews there, forgetting their Tenach, might be able to read the sacred Scriptures in their new language, the Greek of the time. . . . the Greek New Testament issues alone was much more common, and so frequent were the printed issues of that text that no succinct and easily comprehended account of it is possible. . . . Milton's favorite form. . . . seems to have been an edition of the New Testament with three texts, the Greek, the Vulgate, and Theodore Beza's Latin, derives partly from that worthy's newly discovered Greek codex, which he presented to Cambridge University and which still one of its prized possessions (pp. 107–108).

The New Testament:

> . . . Milton by no means stopped with the text of the Complutension, Erasmus, or Beza. In 1569 there appeared at Geneva a huge folio of the New Testament texts,

published by Stephanus, that contained the Greek texts (Stephanus, the Latin of Tremellius, with his Latin traslation of the Syriac (p. 109).

The Hebrew Scripture of Tenach:

The word 'Bible' comes from a Greek word meaning book, and to a Christian means 'The Book' by way of eminence, made up of writings accepted as inspired by God and of divine authority. If we use it to mean what the Jew means by his Holy Scriptures. The Protestant Christian's Old Testament is made up of the same books, though in different order, that constitute the whole Scripture to the Jews. But the Roman Catholic Old Testament (Vulgate version) cannot be called the same as the Jewish Scriptures regardless of the order of its books, for it contains books that are not in the Hebrew Scriptures. . . . The Hebrew Scriptures have been printed since 1477 in one form or another, beginning with a small edition of Psalms and reaching the first complete Tenach. . . . The fifth *Biblica Rabbinica* appeared at Venice in 1617–19, and at Basel in 1619 the sixth appeared, sponsored by the elder Bomberg. . . . The *Biblia Rabbinica* was a huge affair in any edition. Its apparatus comprised much medieval commentary. . . . as early as the winter of 1624 Milton owned a copy of the Buxtorf rabbinical Tenach, and occasionally referred to it in later years. This Tenach included the Hebrew pointed text paralleled by the pointed Targums in Aramaic, and all the Massoretic material both major and minor. . . . (pp. 110–111).

The Italian Version:

There is now only one Italian Bible that needs to be associated with Milton, and that association probably had largely personal reasons. Giovanni Diodati (1576–1649) was the uncle . . . of Charles Diodati, Milton's young friend. Giovanni was appointed as professor of Hebrew at Geneva in 1587 by Beza himself. Ordained in 1608, he became theological professor in 1609. He stated that he translated the Bible directly from the Hebrew and Greek, but his version . . . is close to being an Italian version of the Vulgate. . . . The version was adopted by Italian Protestants, and was reprinted many times. There can be little doubt that Milton early owned and used this Italian version in one or more of its several editions (p. 114).

Spanish Bible:

It would be interesting if we know that Milton owned and used a copy of the New Testament in Spanish printed in England in 1596 . . . (p. 114).

Milton, as other students, learned logic, ethics, physics, metaphysics, theology, rhetoric, and the public discourse at Cambridge. Accordingly, these intellectual acquirements are thought to have influenced his works:

> . . . and bid the Deep
> Within appointed bounds be Heav'n and Earth,
> Boundless the Deep, because I am who fill
> Infinitude, nor vacuous the space.
> Though I uncircumscrib'd my self retire,
> And put not forth my goodness, which is free
> To act or not, Necessitie and Chance
> Approach not mee, and what I will is Fate. (VII, 166–174)

It is said that these passages arising from physics in its essence, are "so mingled with metaphysical connotations that full explanation of it requires the complete round of

college studies, physics and metaphysics, with a touch of Christian theology, to expound it" (p. 179). Likewise other Milton's academical studies at Cambridge formed and cultivated his poetic ability, for example metaphysics (see p. 194), rhetoric (see p. 214), and public discourse (see p. 246). As to the last subject, Fletcher says that Milton became most eloquent in his discoursing (as is seen in *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* in 1651) and that the whole sections of *Paradise Lost*, most of *Paradise Regained*, and several scenes of *Samson Agonistes* also set forth in disputations some of the main parts of those poems (p. 269). Besides the seven subjects, Milton learned Greek, Semitic, mathematics, history, cosmography, and geography as extra studies and he performed music and drama as extra activities.

It is a generally accepted opinion that it is to be desired to read pagan literature as little as possible for the benifit of pure spiritual development according to the Bible. This opinion can be said to be right to a certain extent. But as for Milton, Fletcher says:

> Milton was absorbing the mythology, the traditional history, and the whole spirit of Greek literature, especially as found in Greek poetry (p. 288).

It is true that Greek elements are found in his works. Such an influence of literature and so forth on the process of spiritual development is to be justified within a certain range. But literature will be literature. Literature should not assume the place of faith which is valued most important to keep spiritual purity. Is it not most favorable that everything comes to solidify and strenghten the faith? As we have noticed before, Milton's study of religious Truth was the matter of primary importance. Though he did not become a priest all his life because of what he had to encounter during the years of "the general pattern educational scheme through which he was to pass" at Cambridge, his entire early training is said to have had the priesthood as a goal.[40] (To be continued.)

NOTES

1. Blake, Complete Writings, (London, 1957), p. 150.
2. John Milton, "The Reason of Church Government," *Milton on Himself*, by John S. Diekhoff (London: Cohen and West Ltd., 1965), p. 11.
3. "The Reason of Church Government," Bohn II, 481, Emile Saillens, *John Milton*: *Man Poet Polemist* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964), p. 46.
4. Namely, the Muse is regarded as the source of his poetic energy.
5. In the Old Testament, we cannot find that Moses told the Israelites how the heavens and earth 'rose out of chaos.' It says: ". . . for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them, and rested the seventh day" (Exodus xx: 11); ". . . in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed" (ibid., xxxi: 17). According to the Bible, Moses really told them the Creation of heaven and earth. But he did not tell them 'how the heavens and earth rose out of chaos' (as is told in Genesis ii: 4–iv: 26). Moses, according to the Bible, wanted to let them know that God created heaven and earth in six days and rested on the seventh day (hence 'Sabbath'), and not how 'the heavens and earth rose out of chaos.' On Milton's characteristic interpretation of the Bible, we know a problem of 'poligamy.'

6. The Biblical study of the Old Testament tells it to us.

7. This is the historically argued, theological problem of 'pre-existence of Christ.' Here, the literal sense is taken.

8. See Harris Francis Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development Development of John Milton* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), Vol. II., pp. 190–191. He writes:
". . . the 'essence increate' of line 6 above was the essence of God, itself uncreated but eternal. (p. 191)."

9. See John Beer, *op. cit.*, p. 157. (See also *Paradise Lost*, VII, 174–175; X, 68–70.

10. See Exodus xix: 12–23.

11. See John Beer, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

12. On "wisdom," see Proverb vii, 4; viii: 22–25.

13. "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," *Milton on Himself*, pp. 142–143.

14. Hughes writes: "But the seemingly obvious cause of identifying Milton's Muse with the Holy Spirit is closed because, as Professor Kelley points out, in *De Doctrina Christiana* he explicitly withheld sanction of any invocation of the Holy Spirit" (*Ten Perspectives on Milton*, "The Symblo of Light, p. 76). This opinion of Hughes is mainly based on Milton's *De Doctrina* and is thought to confuse artistic works with dogma. Artistic works are not produced according to the dogma. It is not always true that what is told in the doctrine can be applied to the artistic works which are produced according to the principle of art which is absolutely independent of other principles.

15. 'fallen on' means 'to come on in the course of life or circumstances' (*Lexicon to the English Poetical Works of John Milton* by Lockwood, p. 141). 'Fallen' in this case is not thought to mean 'to descend from a high estate or from moral elevation.' So to quote these lines is not pertinent to 'ascertain this fact.'

16. Helen Darbishire, *The Poetical Works of John Milton* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), Vol. I., p. v.

17. *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 319–320.

19. Mitsuo Miyanishi, *Studies in Milton* (Kyoto, 1965), p. 265.

20. On the influence of the heavenly inspiration upon his poetry, see the following quotations: "The elements of inspired originality . . . accounts for the 'force and richness of imagination' in which Milton seemed . . . to surpass Homer; the element of truth, for the "justness of thought and exactness of work" in which he surpassed Virgil" (Arther Baker, " . . . And on His Crest Sat Horror," *University of Tronto Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 4, July, 1942, p. 426).

21. Mitsuo Miyanishi, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

22. See E. M. W. Tillyard, *Milton*, translated by I. Ogoshi (Tokyo, 1956), p,p. 8–9.

23. See Rosemond Tuve, *Image and Themes in Five Poems by Milton* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 136.

24. See *ibid.*, p. 125.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

27. See Helen Darbishire, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., pp. 336–337.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 336.

29. *Ibid.*, 340.

30. See Mitsuo Miyanishi, *op. cit.*, p. 296. See Darbishire, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1., p. 336.

31. In *Prolusion VII*, Milton uses the word 'daemon' as follows: . . . and, to crown all, the divine might and power of the soul, and any knowledge we may have gained concerning those beings which we call spirits and genii and daemons. ("Delivered in the College Chapel in Defence of Learning,") An Oration; *Complete Prose Works of John Milton Volume I.* 1624–1642, New Haven; Yale University Press, MCMLIII, p. 296. 'Daemon' is used here as a kind of spirit which is not of Christianity. A Daemon was a kind of spirit which, according to the ancients, presided over the actions of men by giving advice and by watching over even their most secret intentions (O.E.D.)

32. "On Milton's various conversions of the idea of the Gardian Angel into a 'philosophical symbol of great speculative import, "see J.H. Hanford," That Sheperd, who first taught the chosen Seed,' *University of Tronto Quarterly*, VIII (1938–39), 403–419, and Rosemond Tuve, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

33. Ann Phillips takes 'the heav'nly Muse' as other than the Holy Spirit; he writes: "the Muses,

nine sister goddesses, were thought to inspire and preside over different arts." (*John Milton*; *Minor Poems*, London, University Tutorial Press Ltd., 1966, p. 117).

34. John S. Diekhoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–110.

35. "Reason of Church Government," book ii, Preface, Rosemond Tuve, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

36. This idea of Milton is not to be thought to be exclusively characteristic of his way of thinking; for example, Alfred Lord Tennyson sings as follows: Thou seemest human and divine Thou highest, holiest manhood, thou: Our wills are ours, we know not how; Our wills are ours, to make them thine. (From *In Memoriam*)

37. Rosemond Tuve, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

38. I cannot understand what Tuve means by the "Neo-Platonic Urania." If she thinks that the "Neo-Platonic Urania" is something that will become one with the Holy Spirit (directly), as she says, the "Neo-Platonic Urania" should not thought to be the opponent to Christianity. (Just as the acorn, which will grow into the oak, cannot be regarded as the different species from that of the oak.) And why did she write that "Milton's conception of heavenly inspiration of sacred poetry is not *simple*" (even at twenty-one) (Italic is mine), if she means "not impure" by "simple"? I will say that his soul is seen to be purified (see, p. 60). This means that he was, more or less, "impure" and that it is contradictory to the statement just told above. But it is not contradictory, for "purified" (p. 60) is used not in relation to the "impurity" of paganism, but to that of the intrinsical human 'nature' (cf. Milton's early attitude toward Platonism which is told on pages, 42–43). The writer thinks that Tuve should have written: Milton's conception of heaven inspiration of sacred poetry is 'not ripened yet' (instead of 'not simple,' which may be taken to mean pagan) according to his view of Milton's spiritual formation. There seems to be irrelevance between the nominal and real sides of the "Heav'nly Muse." Milton is thought to have meant the Holy Spirit by the "Heav'nly Muse," which, in fact, was his poetic spirituality on which the Holy Spirit was to rest (cf. Isaiah xi, 2) in his later years.

39. Rosemond Tuve, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

40. H.F. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 431.